

## Message Text

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44

ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01

INR-05 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 AEC-05 BIB-01 ACDE-00

AECE-00 OES-03 SAM-01 OIC-02 OMB-01 /089 W

----- 013385

P R 101505Z DEC 74

FM AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8128

INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO NEW YORK

USMISSION IAEA VIENNA UNN

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

C O N F I D E N T I A L HELSINKI 2490

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, FI, US

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER

KARJALAINEN-"KEKKONEN PLAN" FOR NUCLEAR-

FREE ZONE IN NORTHERN EUROPE

REF: STATE 269513

1. I WISH TO THANK DEPARTMENT FOR GOOD BACKSTOPPING  
PROVIDED BY REFTEL.

2. AS ANTICIPATED, FOREIGN MINISTER KARJALAINEN  
TOOK UP "KEKKONEN PLAN" FOR A NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE IN  
NORTHERN EUROPE DURING OUR WORKING LUCHEON MEETING  
TODAY. FOREIGN MINISTRY POLITICAL SECTION CHIEF  
MATTI TUOVINEN WAS ONLY OTHER FINN PRESENT.

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3. KARJALAINEN STARTED OFF BY SAYING THAT AS I KNEW, "KEKKONEN PLAN" HAD AGAIN BECOME A TOPICAL QUESTION WITH OCTOBER 15 OFFER BY PRESIDENT PODGORNYY OF A SOVIET GUARANTEE OF PLAN. HE THEN ASKED ME FOR ANY VIEWS THAT USG MAY HAVE ON MATTER.

4. DRAWING ON REFTEL, I FIRST EXPLAINED OUR GENERAL THINKING BASED ON PARAS 1, 2 AND 3, AND THEN MADE POINTS PROVIDED IN PARA 4. THERE WAS SOME DISCUSSION OF FOUR POINTS, WITH WHICH FINNS ARE FAMILIAR FROM SYMINGTON SPEECH. I POINTED OUT THAT PARTICULARLY POINT C, REFTEL PARA 1, COULD BE A DIFFICULT ONE TO SATISFY. KARJALAINEN SAID HE COULD UNDERSTAND OUR CONCERN. HE COUNTERED BY SAYING THAT PRESIDENT KEKKONEN HAD FROM VERY BEGINNING PUBLICLY STATED THAT OF COURSE SECURITY NEEDS OF STATES CONCERNED WOULD HAVE TO BE SATISFIED. I POINTED OUT TO KARJALAINEN THAT UNITED STATES PARTLY HAD SECURITY NEEDS OF ITS OWN AND PARTLY THOSE CONNECTED WITH ITS COMMITMENTS TO ITS NATO ALLIES. KARJALAINEN ADMITTED THAT US HAD LEGITIMATE INTERESTS TO PROTECT AND ADDED THAT FINNS CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THAT PLAN COULD NOT BECOME EFFECTIVE WITHOUT AGREEMENT OF THE US.

5. CONCERNING QUESTION OF POSSIBLE TERRITORY TO BE COVERED BY A NORTH EUROPEAN NFZ, KARJALAINEN SAID THAT KEKKONEN HAD NEVER ENVISAGED, AND STILL DID NOT, THAT MURMANSK AREA WOULD BE INCLUDED. HE SAID THAT MURMANSK WAS IN A VERY SPECIAL CATEGORY IN SOVIET GLOBAL STRATEGY TERMS AND NOT COMPARABLE TO NORTH EUROPEAN AREA. I RESPONDED BY SAYING THAT ALTHOUGH THIS MIGHT WELL BE CASE, FACT NEVERTHELESS REMAINED THAT NORWAY AND NORTH ATLANTIC WERE ALSO OF CONSIDERABLE STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE, AND THAT IT SEEMED TO US THAT WHOLE SCHEME WAS UNBIASED IN THAT IT EXCLUDED WARSAW PACT TERRITORY BUT INCLUDED NATO AREAS.

6. KARJALAINEN DID NOT SEEM SURPRISED AT OUR  
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RESERVATIONS ABOUT "KEKKONEN PLAN", BUT WAS OF COURSE NOT HAPPY ABOUT THEM EITHER. HE SAID THAT KEKKONEN HAD STATED, WHEN FIRST LAUNCHING PLAN IN 1963, THAT TIME MIGHT NOT BE RIPE FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF IT, AND THAT THIS MAY STILL BE CASE, BUT THAT FINNS WOULD JUST HAVE TO KEEP ON DISCUSSING IT IN HOPE THAT EVENTUALLY TIME WOULD BE RIGHT. HE THEN BROUGHT UP EARLY DISCUSSIONS ABOUT CSCE AS AN

EXAMPLE OF HOW INITIALLY UNPALATABLE IDEAS IN TIME CAN  
BECOME REALISABLE.

7. KARJALAINEN THEN ASKED ME WHETHER SOVIETS, IN  
VIEW OF PODGORNYY GUARANTEE OFFER, HAD RAISED MATTER  
WITH US. I TOLD HIM THAT I COULD NOT BE ONE HUNDRED  
PERCENT SURE, BUT THAT IT WAS MY  
DISTINCT IMPRESSION THAT THEY HAD NOT. HE  
THEN TOLD ME THAT WAS EXACTLY ANSWER HE HAD RECEIVED  
FROM SOVIET EMBASSY HERE WHEN HE ASKED THEM SAME  
QUESTION.

8. I BELIEVE THAT FINNS WILL KEEP PUSHING "KEKKONEN  
PLAN", BUT NOT TOO HARD. THEY MAY WELL HOPE THAT  
UN APPROVED GENERAL NFZ STUDY TO BE CARRIED OUT BY  
CCD WILL HELP KEEP IT ALIVE, AND THAT FURTHER  
DETENTE, SALT, AND MBFR DEVELOPMENTS MAY MAKE IT  
MORE PALATABLE.  
KREHBIEL

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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** NUCLEAR FREE ZONES, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS  
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**Draft Date:** 10 DEC 1974  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** golinofr  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
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**TAGS:** PARM, FI, US  
**To:** STATE  
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